

CHRIST AS MINISTRANT AND  
THE PRIEST AS MINISTRANT  
OF CHRIST IN A PALAEOLOGAN  
PROGRAM OF 1303

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THE cycle of Christ's Ministry gained new prominence in Byzantine monumental painting during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This is in keeping with the general and prevalent tendency of the early Palaeologan period to decorate churches with multiple and varied cycles.<sup>1</sup> The majority of these cycles are not, however, primarily narrative in intent; their function is to convey vividly and tangibly the esoteric and symbolic complexities of theological precepts, and to make these an immediate and understandable reality. During a period of religious unrest and doubt when, according to contemporary witnesses, many no longer attended church or baptized their children, theologians found it necessary to stress the importance and reality of the sacraments and the real presence of Christ within the Church. This intent was conveyed to the painters who were advised on the overall layout of the cycles and on the sequence of events to be included within them. This is corroborated by a survey of Ministry cycles which shows that the choice and arrangement of the events within most was determined not by narrative chronology but by themes of liturgical and sacramental symbolism which stress the role of Christ as ministrant and as the ultimate prototype of the Orthodox priest.

This double intent is central in the Ministry Cycle of the parekklesion of St. Euthymios (figs. 1–4, 6), a chapel of the basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, dedicated to St. Euthymios of Melitini (377–473), the founder of Palestinian monasticism, and renovated in 1303 by the Protostrator Michael Glavas Tarchaneiotēs, a leading general of the period, and his wife Maria.<sup>2</sup> The dedication of the parekklesion to St. Euthymios, its architectural association with St. Demetrios, and the relation of its liturgical functions to those of the large church are unusual. The reasons that governed these choices are complex and are related to the broader political and cultural milieu of the first three decades of the reign of Andronikos II (1282–1328).<sup>3</sup> A primary

<sup>1</sup> By early Palaeologan I mean the period from *ca.* 1261 to *ca.* 1320, i.e., the reign of Michael VIII and Andronikos II up to the civil war.

On the complexity and variety of Palaeologan Church decoration, see S. Dufrenne, "L'enrichissement du programme iconographique dans les églises byzantines du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *L'Art byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Symposium de Šopocani 1965* (Belgrade, 1967), 35–46; and articles by S. Der Nersessian, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, and P. A. Underwood, in *The Kariye Djami*, IV, *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background* (Princeton, 1975).

Early Palaeologan churches of *ca.* 1290–1320 that contain Ministry Cycles are the following: St. Clement (church of the Virgin Peribleptos), Ohrid, 1294–95 (henceforth St. Clement); Protaton, Karyes, Mt. Athos, *ca.* 1300–5 (henceforth Protaton); the Metropolis, Mistras, *ca.* 1304–10; St. Catherine, Thessaloniki, *ca.* 1300–10 (henceforth St. Catherine); St. Nikita, near Čučer, *ca.* 1307–10 (henceforth St. Nikita); St. George Staro Nagoričino, *ca.* 1312–18 (henceforth Staro Nagoričino); St. Nicholas Orfanos, Thessaloniki, *ca.* 1315–20; church of the Virgin, Gračanica, *ca.* 1321 (henceforth Gračanica); Katholikon of the monastery of Chilandari, Mt. Athos, *ca.* 1310–12 (henceforth Chilandari); Kariye Djami (monastery of Christ in Chora), Constantinople, *ca.* 1312–15 (henceforth Kariye Djami).

<sup>2</sup> This information about the Parekklesion is provided by a dedicatory inscription in the north aisle. For the text and meaning of the inscription, see T. Gouma-Peterson, "The Parekklesion of St. Euthymios in Thessalonica: Art and Monastic Policy Under Andronikos II," *ArtB*, 58 (1976) (hereafter Gouma-Peterson, "The Parekklesion"), 168.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 168–82.

reason was the intent to honor a great monk, St. Euthymios, in conjunction with one of the most important military saints, St. Demetrios. That the donor was a general very close to the emperor further underlined the honor and respect paid to monasticism, and the dedication of the parekklesion should be seen as part of the general pro-monastic policy of the emperor and his officials.

The small chapel, though architecturally an annex of the large basilica (fig. 1), was treated in its decoration as an independent unit and was given the full iconographic program of a major church.<sup>4</sup> Within this program Christ's Ministry was given special prominence through its placement immediately below the Festivals on the spandrels of the south and north arcades in the nave (figs. 3, 4, 6), a position usually reserved for the Passion. The cycle begins on the south (east) wall on a very narrow surface between The Communion of the Wine and the easternmost arch (an area equivalent to half a spandrel) with Christ Reading in the Synagogue (fig. 5). It continues on the spandrels of the south arcade (from east to west) with Christ Teaching in the Temple (fig. 8) and The Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple (fig. 12). The scene on the westernmost spandrel has been almost entirely destroyed. The sequence is interrupted by The Dormition of the Virgin on the west wall and continues on the north wall (west to east) with The Healing of the Man with Dropsy (fig. 15), The Healing of the Paralytic at Bethesda (fig. 16), and The Healing of the Woman with the Curved Back (fig. 16) on the wall above the second arch, and Christ and the Samaritan Woman (fig. 21) and The Healing of the Blind Born (fig. 24) on the surface between the third arch and The Communion of the Bread.

The practice of separating the miraculous healings and other events of Christ's public life from the principal cycle of the Great Festivals and grouping them in an independent cycle is characteristically Byzantine and goes back at least to the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup> Usually the cycle was placed in a subsidiary spatial unit (side aisle or transept arm), and this practice continued during the Palaeologan period. Its prominent placement in the nave of St. Euthymios immediately below the Festivals remains unusual, though it does occur in two other early Palaeologan churches.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the reasons for this unusual treatment, see *ibid.*, 170–73. The cycles in St. Euthymios are briefly described by G. and M. Soteriou, 'Η Βασιλική τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, I (Athens, 1952), 213–14. Most of the paintings in the Parekklesion came to light during the removal of the Turkish whitewash after the fire of 1917, which severely damaged the basilica of St. Demetrios. The paintings of the parekklesion also sustained extensive damage. The present roof is new (fig. 2), and in all the scenes on the upper wall area of the nave (the Festivals) a section from eight to twelve inches is missing along the upper border (fig. 5). The prothesis has been completely rebuilt and the paintings on the outer south wall are almost destroyed. Most of the scenes on the upper walls of the nave (Festivals and Ministry) and the images of saints on the soffits of the south arcade were affected by the flames and heat. The paintings have faded considerably during the last twenty years.

<sup>5</sup> E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), 30–31. Examples of this practice are the Sicilian churches and the SS. Anargyroi at Kastoria (see S. Pelekanidis, *Καστορία, I. Βυζαντινά τοιχογραφία* [Thessaloniki, 1953], pl. 30).

<sup>6</sup> The Passion is placed above the Ministry, in closer proximity to the Festivals, in many early Palaeologan churches, as for example: in St. Nikita (R. Hamann-Mac Lean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum 14. Jahrhundert* [Giessen, 1963], plans 27–28; and G. Millet and A. Frolov, *La Peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie*, III [Paris, 1962],

The scenes usually included in the Ministry Cycle in Byzantine churches do not conform to a fixed order because there was nothing traditionally canonical in the selection and grouping of these events.<sup>7</sup> As Underwood has observed, theoretically a Ministry Cycle could comprise any event from the adult life of Christ preceding His Passion. When all four Gospels are taken into consideration the number of subjects becomes very sizable.<sup>8</sup> Dionysios of Fournà cites sixty-four subjects in his Painter's Guide (*Hermeneia*) that could be part of a Ministry Cycle.<sup>9</sup> The list in the *Hermeneia* is the most complete in existence and is rather theoretical since no church could possibly accommodate that many scenes in one cycle. Of extant pictorial cycles the one in the Kariye Djami comes closest to the *Hermeneia* in scope with about half the number of events.<sup>10</sup>

In St. Euthymios not only is Christ's Ministry given a prominent position but it also has an added significance, for, through its placement and through the correspondence of specific events, it underlines the parallelism between the ministry of Christ and the ministry of St. Euthymios, the patron saint of the chapel whose life is represented in the north aisle (figs. 6, 26–28). This parallelism expresses pictorially beliefs central to the thought of two of the most influential prelates of the period, Bishop Theoleptos of Philadelphia (1283–ca. 1322/24) and Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople (1289–93,

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pl. 37,2), at Chilandari (G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* [Paris, 1927] [hereafter Millet, *Athos*], pl. 64,2), and in St. Nicholas Orfanos (see A. Xyngopoulos, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του 'Αγίου Νικολάου 'Ορφανού Θεοσαλονίκης* [Athens, 1974], pls. III and IV). In the latter the Ministry is placed in the south aisle of the U-shaped ambulatory. In St. Clement, where the zone below the Passion is occupied by the Life of the Virgin, the Ministry is placed in the northwest and southwest corner bays. In the Protaton, a basilica, the Festivals are in the nave, the Passion in the transept, and the Ministry in the side aisles (fig. 13). In two other churches, Staro Nagoričino and Gračanica, whose frescoes date some ten to eighteen years later than those of St. Euthymios, the Ministry is placed immediately under the Festivals (Hamann-Mac Lean and Hallensleben, *op. cit.*, plans 32–36), with the Passion immediately below the Ministry. The Soterious, *op. cit.*, 24, have suggested that the Passion was represented in St. Euthymios in the south aisle. This seems most probable, even though the cycle would have had to be reduced, since a large part of the south wall is taken up by three windows (figs. 1, 2).

<sup>7</sup> The late Paul Underwood ("Some Problems in Programs and Iconography of Ministry Cycles" [hereafter Underwood, "Some Problems"], in *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 245–48) dealt for the first time with the principles underlying the organization of Ministry Cycles. I had, in many instances, reached similar conclusions independently, but I did profit from being permitted to read this article prior to publication. For this I wish to thank Professor Kitzinger. I wish also to thank Mrs. Fanny Bonajuto for her courtesy and friendly exchange of ideas while I was at Dumbarton Oaks in the summer of 1970. On Christ's Ministry, see also G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile* (Paris, 1916) (hereafter Millet, *Recherches*), 57–65.

<sup>8</sup> Underwood, "Some Problems," 246.

<sup>9</sup> Dionysios of Fournà devotes the third section of his *Hermeneia* to the life of Christ and divides it into three parts. See Dionysios of Fournà, *Ἐρμηνεία*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg, 1909), 85–113. The events of Christ's Ministry are included in the first parts ("How to represent the Festivals of the Lord and other acts and miracles of Christ," *ibid.*, 85–103), which lists a total of sixty-four events that could be included in a Ministry Cycle. Clearly, this is too large a number to represent within the confines of any church, especially a Palaeologan church, since they tended to be rather small. The sequence of events in the *Hermeneia* is based on the Gospel of Matthew, and whatever events were missing from that Gospel were taken from the others and interspersed in the appropriate chronological sequence. On this see also Underwood, "Some Problems," 247–51 and note 8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 246–47; and *idem*, *The Kariye Djami*, I (New York, 1966), 108–51. The *Hermeneia* and two manuscripts published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus as Appendices, and which he suggests served as sources to Dionysios, do not agree in either the number or the sequence of events (*op. cit.*, 85–103, 265, 278).



1303–9), that is, the importance of the priest as an extension of Christ and as a preserver of the sacramental reality of the Church. Both men stressed participation in the Church through baptism and the Eucharist, and both drew an analogy between the religious profession and baptism. According to Theoleptos, “If you come to an Orthodox priest you come to Christ, you honor Christ, you receive Christ. In receiving Christ, through him you also receive the Father and the Holy Spirit.”<sup>11</sup> This is one of the central themes of the Ministry Cycle in St. Euthymios. It is clearly stated through the opening scene, which represents Christ Reading in the Synagogue at Nazareth (fig. 5) on the Sabbath (Luke 4:16–30, Matt. 13:53–58, Mark 6:1–6), and is reiterated throughout the cycle.

Because of the limited space, the first scene was reduced to the standing figure of Christ at the left reading from an open book on a lectern. Possibly there was a figure behind the lectern (over the curve of the arch) representing the attendant who handed “the scroll of the prophet Isaiah” (Luke 4:17) to Christ. Behind and above Christ there seems to be a semicircular structure, or more probably a ciborium.<sup>12</sup> This scene occurs frequently in early Palaeologan churches, though it was rarely depicted in Byzantine churches prior to this period. The two main variants, Christ and the attendant or Christ and a group of seated Jews, appear to be an abbreviated form of a more narrative sequence of two scenes which occurs in illuminated manuscripts from the eleventh century onward.<sup>13</sup> The better preserved fresco in St. Clement

<sup>11</sup> J. Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas* (London, 1964), 20; S. Salaville, “Deux documents inédits sur les dissensions religieuses byzantines entre 1275 et 1310,” *REB*, 5 (1947), 128–29, esp. 125. For a more complete discussion of Athanasios and Theoleptos and bibliography, see Gouma-Peterson, “The *Parecclesion*,” 178–80. See also A.-M. M. Talbot, *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Letters to the Emperor Andronicus II, Members of the Imperial Family, and Officials* (Washington, D.C., 1975).

<sup>12</sup> This scene is not mentioned by the Soterious. Generally, their discussion of this cycle is brief and deals mainly with stylistic aspects (*op. cit.*, 217). At present, only the figure of Christ can be barely distinguished from ground level.

<sup>13</sup> Two scenes occur in an eleventh-century Gospel Book, Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 74; see H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, II (Paris, 1908) (hereafter Omont, *Évangiles*), 2 and pl. 101. They follow the sequence of the narrative of the Gospel according to Luke. The first scene is identical with those in St. Clement and St. Euthymios, and the second represents Christ seated, holding the book and explaining the passage he has just read to a group of Jews. In a thirteenth-century Gospel Book, Berlin, State Library, Q 66, the episode is illustrated in one scene, but it includes the group of seated Jews opposite the standing Christ; see E. J. Goodspeed, D. W. Riddle, and H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament* (Chicago, 1932), III, 166, pl. LVIII. For the more recently proposed thirteenth-century date of the manuscript, see R. Hamann-Mac Lean, “Der Berliner Codex Graecus Quarto 66 und seine nächsten verwandten als Beispiele des Stilwandels im frühen 13. Jahrhundert,” *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters* (= *Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener*) (Marburg, 1967), 225–50. A sequence of two scenes also occurs in the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament, dated 1265–70 (University of Chicago). Here in the first scene the standing Christ is flanked by two seated figures, and in the second the seated Christ teaches a group of standing Jews (Goodspeed, et al., *op. cit.*, I, 13–16; fols. 62<sup>v</sup> and 63<sup>r</sup>; III, 166–68). In an eleventh-century lectionary, Morgan 639, fol. 294, and an eleventh-century Gospel Book, Florence, cod. Plut. VI.23, fol. 109<sup>v</sup>, only The Teaching of Christ in the Synagogue, after He had read from the book of Isaiah (Luke 4:20), is represented, and is given almost the same iconography as the scene of Christ Teaching in the Temple (John 7:14–36) which follows in the Ministry Cycle in St. Euthymios (fig. 8). For the scenes in the latter two manuscripts, see K. Weitzmann, “The Constantinopolitan Lectionary Morgan 639,” in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner (Princeton, 1954), 368–69, figs. 319–20. The only difference from the usual iconography of Christ Teaching in the Temple is that the enthroned Christ is returning the book of Isaiah, which He holds

(fig. 7) has also been restricted to Christ, the book on the lectern, and the young attendant (possibly included in St. Euthymios). On the book are inscribed the opening lines of the passage from Isaiah read by Christ: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me" (Luke 4:18, Isa. 61:1-2).<sup>14</sup>

This episode, though related in all the Synoptic Gospels, is given a special significance in Luke through the lengthy account of Christ's teaching, and is placed at the beginning of Christ's Ministry. Only in Luke is the passage from Isaiah, especially appropriate as the opening scene of a Ministry Cycle, introduced:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me;  
he has sent me to announce good news to the poor,  
to proclaim release for prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind;  
to let the broken victims go free,  
to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor (Luke 4:18-19).

Today, he said, in your very hearing this text has come true (4:21).

This passage establishes the central themes of the cycle: the manifestation of Christ's Divinity, the importance of His Ministry among men as a transmission of the Spirit of the Lord and as a source of physical and spiritual healing, and the importance of the Sabbath as the day of regeneration (Luke 4:16, Mark 6:2).

The next scene (fig. 8), Christ Teaching in the Temple at Jerusalem on the Sabbath during the Jewish Feast of the Tabernacles (John 7:14-36), parallels the first one. The event occurs at a decisive time in Christ's life, at the beginning of the Great Controversy when He comes to Jerusalem to confront the Jews. It takes place during a festival and in a holy place, and again Christ reveals Himself as the Redeemer and the Son of God. Finally, the Sabbath issue is clearly raised as a point of controversy: "Once only have I done work on the Sabbath and you are all taken aback...why are you indignant with me for giving health on the Sabbath to the whole of a man's body?" (John

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n His left hand, to the attendant. In a miniature of the late tenth- or early eleventh-century Menologion of Basil II, Vatican, cod. gr. 1613, Christ is represented standing frontally on a footstool and holding the open book, with a group of Jews on either side bowing in devotion; see K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1970), 180-81, fig. 189. According to Weitzmann, in this case the compositional scheme was based on that of the "Mission of the Apostles" and should be considered an exceptional type. For a proposed early eleventh-century date for Vat. gr. 1613, see I. Ševčenko, "On the Pantaleon Painter," *JÖB*, 21 (1972), 241-49.

<sup>14</sup> Other early Palaeologan examples of the scene occur at Chilandari, where two scenes corresponding to two different moments of the narrative are represented: Christ Reading in the Synagogue and Christ Teaching the Jews (Millet, *Athos*, pls. 76,1, 77,1); in the Protaton (fig. 11), where Christ is shown Teaching the Jews, standing frontally under a ciborium and holding the open Book in front of his chest (this iconography echoes that of the Menologion of Basil II); in St. Nikita, Staro Nagoričino, and Gračanica, Christ is shown Reading in the Synagogue in much the same way as in St. Euthymios and St. Clement (D. V. Ajnalov, "Novyj ikonografičeskij obraz' Hrista," *SemKond*, 2 [1928], 19-24). To my knowledge the scene does not occur in Byzantine church decoration prior to the Palaeologan period.

7:21–24). This statement is a direct reference to The Healing of the Paralytic at Bethesda, which occurs later in the cycle.<sup>15</sup>

In the Teaching scene Christ, framed and isolated by a monumental throne, is represented blessing and holding a scroll. Behind Him is a semicircular structure with columns. He is flanked on each side by a seated Elder who gestures in astonishment and by a number of other figures, shown over the arches. The iconography of this scene in Byzantine art is similar to that of Christ Among the Doctors (Luke 2:41–49), except that in the latter Christ and the Elders are usually seated on a common bench and Christ is represented beardless.<sup>16</sup> It occurs in the eleventh-century frescoes of the New Church of Toqale, and its iconography is almost identical with that of the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century examples.<sup>17</sup> The Palaeologan representations in St. Euthymios (fig. 8), St. Clement (fig. 10), St. Nikita (fig. 9), and Staro Nagoričino are iconographically similar, except for minor differences such as the type of throne, the use of the ciborium, and the grouping of the Jews.

The Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple (fig. 12), which follows on the next spandrel, is related in all four Gospels (Matt. 21:12–13, Mark 11:15–19, Luke 19:45–46, John 2:13–22). During the Jewish Passover Jesus went to Jerusalem and entered the temple. Finding it full of money changers and merchants “that sold oxen and sheep and doves,” He “made a scourge of cords” (a detail mentioned only in John 2:15) and cast them out of the temple. Christ is represented pushing a money changer with His left hand and brandishing the scourge with His right. Beneath His feet are an upturned table and a number of sheep and goats, and behind Him is a ciborium. A group of merchants and money changers is crowded over the curve of the arch at right. The iconographic type of this scene was more or less firmly fixed by the ninth century<sup>18</sup> and occurred frequently in early Palaeologan churches.

<sup>15</sup> See *infra*, p. 205–6 and fig. 16.

<sup>16</sup> The Soterious, *op. cit.*, 217, identify the scene in St. Euthymios as Christ among the Doctors. The iconography of these two subjects was closely related and is easy to confuse, and in fact the scenes were occasionally confused by the artists themselves; see G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin. Les Eglises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Text vol. I,2 (Paris, 1932), 332–33. The similarity of the account of the two events in the Gospels probably contributed to the confusion (compare Luke 2:42–47 with John 7:10–15). One determining factor is whether Christ is represented as a bearded adult, as given in John. In St. Euthymios the largest part of Christ's face has been destroyed, but traces of the beard are evident upon close investigation. Christ is also represented with long hair reaching to His shoulders and not with short hair reaching only to ear level, as in the scene when derived from Luke, such as, for example, in the Protaton (Millet, *Athos*, pl. 35,2). Often in the scene from Luke Christ's parents were included, e.g., at Sopoćani (Millet and Frolov, *La Peinture*, II [1957], pl. 9,3). For a recent discussion of representations of the mid-Pentecost, see G. Babić, “O prepolovleny praznika,” *Zograph*, 7 (1977), 22–27, which appeared after this article had gone to press.

<sup>17</sup> For the fresco at Toqale, see Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, Text vol. I,2, pp. 332–33, Plate vol. II (Paris, 1928), pl. 76,1. The passage from John (7:14–51) is illustrated as a single scene in eleventh- and twelfth-century lectionaries, such as Dionysiou cod. 587m, fol. 19v. It is also represented in a series of eight scenes in Paris. gr. 74; see Omont, *Evangelies*, 8, pls. 156–59. In most of these scenes Christ is either enthroned or stands under a ciborium and teaches the Jews. None of the scenes is identical with the type used in Byzantine churches.

<sup>18</sup> According to O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949) (hereafter Demus, *Mosaics*), 279, the apostles and often a group of Pharisees were also included. The detail of the scourge seems to have appeared for the first time in a ninth-century miniature of the Chludov Psalter. To this general type belong both the miniature in the Paris. gr. 74 (Omont, *Evangelies*, pl. 148) and the mosaic at Monreale (Demus, *op. cit.*, pl. 91a).

Minor differences involve the type of Christ's gesture, the number and grouping of the merchants, and the type of architectural setting. The ciborium occurs in most scenes, but not at St. Clement (fig. 14). In St. Nikita (fig. 13) and the Protaton (fig. 11) a holy table with a book or scroll on it is placed under the ciborium.

The Expulsion of the Merchants is given greater prominence and a more symbolic interpretation in the fourth Gospel. John also places the event at the beginning of Christ's Ministry immediately after The Wedding at Cana. Within this context it acquires new significance, symbolizing at the beginning of Christ's public life the things to come, and representing the first public manifestation of Christ's authority to judge and chastise. The detail added by John, the scourge of cords, is significant as a symbol of divine authority. John was given precedence over the other evangelists both by Byzantine liturgists, for it is John's account that is read on the Friday of the first week after Easter, and by Byzantine artists, who always included the scourge (figs. 11–14).<sup>19</sup> The symbolic content given to this event in the fourth Gospel is in keeping with the context of the total cycle in St. Euthymios. The first three scenes are in fact variants of the same symbolic themes which reach a climax in The Expulsion of the Merchants, where Christ equates His body with the Temple of the Lord.

Little remains of the scene represented on the westernmost spandrel of the south arcade, but traces of a large table in the central area of the spandrel suggest that it most likely was an abbreviated version of The Wedding at Cana. This miracle, related only in the fourth Gospel, immediately precedes The Expulsion of the Merchants in the text (John 2:1–11). It was the first public manifestation of Christ's miraculous powers and was considered by theologians as His first authentic miracle and as a symbol of the Eucharistic "Transubstantiation."<sup>20</sup> If included in the parekklesion, the scene would reiterate the epiphanic theme of the three previous scenes, would develop the Eucharistic theme introduced in The Expulsion of the Merchants, and would provide a transition to the miracles which follow on the north wall.

The first miracle, The Healing of the Man with Dropsy (fig. 15), refers to the episode when Christ, in the house of a ruler of the Pharisees, on a Sabbath healed "a certain man that had the dropsy" (Luke 14:1–6). The main issue is not the miracle itself but the question raised by Christ: "Is it permitted to cure people on the Sabbath, or not?" This question refers to a theme introduced in the second scene of the cycle which will be repeated in the three miracles which follow on this wall.

Christ is seated on the left, whereas usually in this scene He is shown standing (an adjustment to the architectural projection of the doorway molding). He raises His right hand in a gesture of blessing. The sick man, dressed in a loin cloth, faces Christ, supports himself on a cane, and gestures in amazement.

<sup>19</sup> In the miniatures of Paris. gr. 74 The Expulsion of the Merchants is illustrated only in the fourth Gospel (Omont, *Evangelies*, pl. 148), where the miniature immediately follows The Wedding at Cana.

<sup>20</sup> On this miracle, its symbolism, and its iconography, see Underwood, "Some Problems," 265, 280–85. See also E. B. Smith, *Early Christian Iconography and a School of Ivory Carvers in Provence* (Princeton, 1918), 85; and L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II (Paris, 1957), 363–64.

Behind him stand two Jews, one of whom helps to support the invalid. In its main elements the iconography of this scene was well established from the ninth century on, and during the eleventh century a number of apostles and a group of Jews were added to the two protagonists.<sup>21</sup> Subsequently the iconographic variations involve mainly the number of secondary figures and the gestures given to Christ and the dropsical man. In early Palaeologan monuments no two examples are exactly alike (figs. 13, 15, 17).<sup>22</sup>

The next miracle, The Healing of the Paralytic near the Pool of Bethesda in Jerusalem (fig. 16), again occurred on the Sabbath during the Jewish festival (John 5:2–15). In keeping with the symbolic nature of the miracles in the fourth Gospel the actual healing is of lesser importance than its sacramental symbolism. Equally important is the ensuing dialogue between Christ and the Jews (John 5:19–47), in which He equates Himself with God and refers to the resurrection and judgment of the dead.

Contrary to common practice, Christ is represented seated, an adjustment to the curvature of the arch. Behind Him is a group of four apostles; opposite Him stands the paralytic lifting his bed with both hands over his head and shoulders. Above Christ and the paralytic appear the five vaults of the pool of Bethesda (John 5:2) and behind them, on a lower level, a section of the pool. The iconographic origins of this scene are rather problematic because it has often been confused with The Healing of the Paralytic at Capernaum (Mark 2:1–12, Matt. 9:2–8, Luke 5:18–26).<sup>23</sup> The locale of each miracle is important in establishing the identity of the scene since The Healing at Capernaum took place in a house, whereas that at Bethesda took place near a pool by the sheep market in Jerusalem.<sup>24</sup> According to the Gospel the pool

<sup>21</sup> The bearded Christ and the sick man dressed in a loincloth appear in a miniature of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 510, dated 880–83, where the scene is reduced to the two main figures; see H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* [Paris, 1929], pl. xxxvi. In Paris. gr. 74 three apostles stand behind Christ and a rather large group of Jews stand behind the sick man (*idem*, *Evangelies*, pl. 122), but the protagonists are isolated from the secondary figures. In the New Church of Toqale Christ is followed by two apostles and the sick man is supported by a companion and holds his swollen abdomen with both hands (Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, Text vol. I, 2, pp. 340–41, Plate vol. II, pl. 79, 1).

<sup>22</sup> In the late twelfth-century mosaic of Monreale Christ holds the hand of the sick man (Demus, *Mosaics*, pl. 90a). In St. Clement and St. Nikita (fig. 13) the invalid stands alone supporting himself on one crutch and with his free hand gestures in amazement. In St. Clement Christ is shown blessing, whereas in St. Nikita he touches the swollen abdomen of the man. At Staro Nagoričino (fig. 17) Christ is blessing, and the sick man supports himself on one crutch and is helped by a companion; he does not gesture in amazement (Millet and Frolov, *La Peinture*, III, pl. 82, 4). In the Kariye Djami a fairly large group of lawyers and Pharisees accompanies the man. The figures of Christ, his disciples, and the dropsical man are destroyed (Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 130–31, II, pls. 250, 252). In St. Nicholas Orfanos a large group of lawyers and Pharisees, two of whom give assistance, accompanies the dropsical man who supports himself on two crutches (Xyngopoulos, *op. cit.* [*supra*, note 6], fig. 85).

<sup>23</sup> The iconographic problems of the two healings of a paralytic have also been observed by Underwood, "Some Problems," 289–97. He is, to my knowledge, the first to discuss extensively the origins and iconographic variants of The Healing at Bethesda and The Healing at Capernaum. Both scenes occur in the mosaics of the Kariye Djami. See also Goodspeed, et al., *op. cit.*, II, 218–20. Other authors discuss the iconographic evolution of The Healing of the Paralytic as though it were one and the same event; see, for example, Smith, *op. cit.*, 102; and Réau, *op. cit.*, II, 376–78.

<sup>24</sup> Underwood, "Some Problems," 290–91. In the sixth-century mosaics of San Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna The Healing at Capernaum occurs in a house, whereas The Healing at Bethesda takes place outdoors in no specific locale and simply shows the paralytic carrying his bed; see F. W. Deichmann, *Frühchristlichen Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* (Baden-Baden, 1958), pls. 175, 179.

had five colonnades; in early Palaeologan churches it was represented as a columnar structure with five domical vaults, a type that first occurs in St. Clement and is used in more or less the same form in St. Euthymios (fig. 16), St. Catherine (fig. 18), St. Nikita (fig. 19), and elsewhere.<sup>25</sup> The Palaeologan type, with Christ and the apostles, the pool and vaulted structure, and the paralytic lifting up his bed, is one of several variants and represents an abbreviation of a narrative sequence. Both a narrative type, as in St. Catherine (fig. 18) and the Kariye Djami, and an extremely abbreviated type without pool or vault, as in the Protaton (fig. 11), were used concurrently in early Palaeologan churches.<sup>26</sup>

The Healing of the Paralytic at Bethesda is related to the preceding scenes in the Ministry Cycle as a scene of healing and of deliverance from infirmity. It is a fulfillment of the passage from Isaiah read by Christ in the Synagogue at Nazareth: "He has sent me to proclaim release for prisoners.... To let the broken victims go free" (Luke 4:18–19); and it is also a Sabbath miracle that incited another confrontation with the Jews. But the scene also introduces a new symbolic theme, that of the Sacrament of Baptism, which recurs in two other miracles on this wall. There is a direct reference in the Gospel to the "waters of Baptism" (John 5:16–18), and it appears that from earliest times this scene was given a baptismal interpretation.<sup>27</sup>

The Healing of the Woman with the Curved Back (fig. 16), another Sabbath miracle (Luke 13:10–17), occurred while Christ was teaching in one of the synagogues and saw a woman "possessed by a spirit that had crippled her for eighteen years. She was bent double and quite unable to stand up straight." Christ's healing of the woman angered the Jews. His answer, "And here is this woman... who has been kept prisoner by Satan... was it wrong for her to be freed from her bonds on the Sabbath?" (Luke 13:16), is again a fulfillment of the passage from Isaiah: "He has sent me to proclaim release for prisoners" (Luke 4:18).

<sup>25</sup> A five-vaulted structure also occurs at Monreale, but the architectural type is different (Demus, *Mosaics*, 277, 280, pls. 66,c, 87,a). In St. Clement, Christ followed by Peter stands on the right and the pool has five vaults. A. Stojaković, "Une contribution à l'iconographie de l'architecture peinte dans la peinture médiévale serbe," *XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines, Résumés* (Belgrade-Ochrid, 1961), 101–2, has suggested that the origins of this clearly formulated architectural type used in Palaeologan painting should be sought in the actual structure of the pool, as corroborated by the excavations of 1873 which showed that the pool had five porticoes.

<sup>26</sup> The narrative sequence, showing the paralytic seated on his bed, the paralytic carrying his bed, and the Jews questioning him, occurs in the mosaics of the Kariye Djami; see Underwood, "Some Problems," 291–93. It also occurs in manuscripts, as for example Paris. gr. 74 (Omout, *Evangelies*, pls. 103, 152), and the Gospel Book Iviron 5, which contains a sequence of two events (A. Xyngopoulos, *Ἰστορημένα Εὐαγγέλια Μονῆς Ἰβήρων* 'Αγ. Ὁρόν [Athens, 1932]; and S. M. Pelekanidis, P. C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, S. N. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, II [Athens, 1975], 49, fig. 35).

<sup>27</sup> Underwood, "Some Problems," 258–61, 292, 296, has suggested that in the numerous instances in which the episode is reduced to a portrayal of Christ and the paralytic carrying his bed, as for example in the Protaton (fig. 11), the miracle is that of the Paralytic at Bethesda because of the very important liturgical symbolism of this scene. He observes that the passage from John 9:1–38 was read in connection with the preparation of the catechumens for baptism as early as the fourth century. The Healing of the Paralytic at Bethesda was included in the decoration of the baptistery of Dura-Europos in the third century (see C. H. Kraeling, *The Christian Building, The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report*, VIII,2 [New Haven, 1967], 177–203).

Christ is represented at the left in a gesture of blessing. The woman, extremely bowed, supports herself on a cane and implores Christ. This iconography follows a type that was current from the eleventh century on and was frequently used in early Palaeologan painting.<sup>28</sup> Because of space limitations, the scene was represented on the narrow surface above the arch immediately following The Healing of the Paralytic at Bethesda and, by necessity, was confined to the figures of the two protagonists. Since this is the only scene represented on the wall area above the arches it indicates that its inclusion was considered necessary for the theological completeness of the cycle.

The following scene (fig. 21) shows Christ and the Samaritan Woman at Jacob's well near the city of Sychar (John 4:5–30). During His conversation with the Samaritan, Christ revealed Himself as the Messiah and the source of living water and proclaimed the universal character of the new religion. The meeting concluded with the conversion of the inhabitants of Sychar. The scene in St. Euthymios includes two sequential moments of the Gospel narrative: Christ's conversation with the Samaritan and the woman's subsequent report of this meeting to the inhabitants of Sychar. Jacob's well is represented below the two protagonists in the form of a cruciform baptismal font with three steps, an allusion to the baptismal symbolism of this event which, like the Baptism, was considered an act of illumination. Christ Himself refers to the Baptism by living water (John 4:11–14). The woman is shown a second time in the background, talking to the Samaritans in front of the city of Sychar and pointing at Christ.

This sequence of two events was derived from an earlier narrative version which included as many as four episodes.<sup>29</sup> The secondary episode in St. Euthymios refers to the passage in the Gospel: "The woman put down her water-jar and went away to the town, where she said to the people, 'Come and see a man who has told me everything I ever did. Could this be the Messiah?'" (John 4:28–29). These words of the Samaritan woman resulted in the conversion of the inhabitants of Sychar: "Many Samaritans of that town came to believe in Him because of the woman's testimony..." (John 4:39). The inclusion of the secondary episode, which remains exceptional in early Palaeologan painting, was intended to stress the conversion and baptism of the "non-

<sup>28</sup> The scene occurs in Paris. gr. 74. Here the two main figures are essentially the same as in St. Euthymios, except that Christ is followed by a group of apostles and a group of Jews stands behind the woman (Omont, *Evangelies*, pl. 121). The same type occurs in the mosaics of Monreale (Demus, *Mosaics*, 279, pls. 89a, 90a), except that in this case the group of Jews is led by the ruler of the Synagogue. The abbreviated type used in St. Euthymios also occurs at Chilandari (Millet, *Athos*, pl. 64), in St. Nikita (fig. 20), and in St. Nicholas Orfanos (Xyngopoulos, *Oi τοιχογραφίες* [*supra*, note 6], fig. 84), except that in these three examples two or three apostles accompany Christ.

<sup>29</sup> Millet, *Recherches*, 602–4, has postulated an older narrative sequence in four episodes: the woman holding her pitcher finds Christ alone and He asks for a drink (John 4:7); with empty hands she listens to the Messiah while the apostles return (John 4:26–28); she announces to the Samaritans that she has met the Messiah (John 4:28–29); the Samaritans come out of the city and ask Christ to stay with them (John 4:30–40). In his opinion two differently abbreviated versions of this narrative sequence occur in the miniatures of Paris. gr. 74 and the mosaics of St. Mark's in Venice. Demus (*Mosaics*, 281–82), on the other hand, believes that the simple type belongs to the Hellenistic tradition of the metropolis, whereas the more narrative version, e.g., in Paris. gr. 74 (see Omont, *Evangelies*, pls. 150–51) belongs to the oriental tradition.

believers." The abbreviated type, which includes only Christ and the Samaritan and occasionally a few apostles, was the one current in early Palaeologan Church decoration (figs. 22, 23).<sup>30</sup>

The last scene in this cycle, The Healing of the Blind Born near the pool of Siloe (fig. 24), is both a Sabbath miracle and a symbol of baptism (John 9:1–8). The baptismal symbolism is clearly expressed in the scene in St. Catherine (fig. 25), where the pool has been represented as a cruciform baptismal font. Theologians interpreted this miracle as symbolic of the healing of the human race, blind from its birth because of Adam's sin, and enlightened through baptism by the grace of the Redeemer who from the dark called us into His light.<sup>31</sup> Christ reveals Himself in this episode as the source of light: "While I am in the world, I am the light of the world" (John 9:5), or "It is for judgment that I have come into this world—to give sight to the sightless and to make blind those who see" (John 9:39). In these words we find again a direct reference to the passage from Isaiah which Christ read in the synagogue at Nazareth: "He has sent me...to proclaim...recovery of sight for the blind" (Luke 4:18). Because of the limited space the scene has been reduced to the two main figures. Christ, at right, places His hand upon the eyes of the blind man, who is shown in front of a rectangular structure, possibly the pool. The figure of the man, which emerges at waist level from the curve of the arch, is very damaged. This abbreviated type appears to have been current *ca.* 1300, for it also occurs in St. Clement, the Protaton (fig. 11), and the Kariye Djami.<sup>32</sup>

Unlike other examples of this scene and the other scenes in this cycle, the figure of Christ is placed here on the right, a reversal used to close the cycle. If Christ had been placed on the left, the observer's eye, following the course

<sup>30</sup> The abbreviated type occurred as early as the sixth century in San Apollinare Nuovo (Deichmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 166). It continued in use during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, e.g., at Sant'Angelo in Formis (G. de Jerphanion, *La Voix des monuments* [Paris, 1903], pl. rv,1) and Monreale (Demus, *Mosaics*, pl. 67,a). In Paris. gr. 510 even the apostles have been eliminated (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl. xxxix). In early Palaeologan art the type occurs frequently, e.g., at St. Clement (fig. 22), the Protaton (fig. 23), St. Nikita (Millet and Frolov, *La Peinture*, III, pl. 39,4), Staro Nagoričino, St. Nicholas Orfanos (Xyngopoulos, *ΟΙ τοιχογραφίες*, figs. 89–90), Chilandari (Millet, *Athos*, pl. 77,1). To my knowledge the only other Palaeologan fresco which includes the secondary event is a late example in the church of the Archangels at Lesnovo of *ca.* 1341–49; cf. G. Millet and T. Velmans, *La Peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie*, IV (1969), fig. 34.

<sup>31</sup> Underwood, "Some Problems," 258; Réau, *op. cit.*, II, 372.

<sup>32</sup> According to the iconographic grouping proposed by P. Singelenberg, "The Iconography of the Etschmiadzin Diptych and the Healing of the Blind Man at Siloe," *ArtB*, 40 (1958), 108–12, the scene in St. Euthymios belongs to the type which represents Christ touching or about to touch the eyes of the blind man. The most extensive treatment of this event occurs in Paris. gr. 74, where the whole narrative is represented in a sequence of ten scenes (Omont, *Évangiles*, 159–61). This, however, is an exceptional case. In Early Christian examples Christ is usually accompanied by one or more disciples. In some instances, e.g., the Rossano Gospel, a second episode was included: the blind man washing his eyes at a fountain, observed by a group of witnesses. In later Byzantine examples both the apostles and the group of witnesses were often eliminated, e.g., in Paris. gr. 510, but in some instances the apostles were included, e.g., at Monreale. For illustrations, see Singelenberg, *op. cit.*, 7, 9, 10, 11. Both the secondary episode and the group of apostles were included in some Palaeologan churches, e.g., at Chilandari (Millet, *Athos*, pl. 73,2), and miniatures, e.g., the Gospel Book Iviron 5 (Pelekanidis et al., *Treasures of Mount Athos*, II, 51; and Xyngopoulos, *Ἱστορημένα Εὐαγγέλια*, 49). For the mosaic of the Kariye Djami, see Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, II, pl. 257.



of the action from left to right in the rest of the scenes, would be inclined to continue its movement. The reversal provides a conclusive end.

Clearly the Ministry Cycle in St. Euthymios was carefully planned. All the events are bound by symbolic themes which recur in several variants throughout the cycle and are introduced in the opening scene through the passage from Isaiah read by Christ in the Synagogue. The narrative or chronological sequence of events was completely disregarded in favor of symbolic unity. If, as I have suggested above, Christ Reading in the Synagogue (fig. 5) was based on the Gospel of Luke (4:16–30) and The Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple (fig. 12) was based on the Gospel of John (2:12–22), then the cycle is derived primarily from John (five scenes) with the addition of three events from Luke (see Chart, *infra*). The events derived from Luke are of a highly symbolic nature, and are completely consonant in meaning with the more symbolic character of the fourth Gospel.

Millet has observed that the miracles performed by Christ in Judea (treated in much greater detail by Luke) were mainly incidents in the conflict between Christ and the Pharisees.<sup>33</sup> Through these miracles it was Christ's intention to manifest Himself as equal with His Father, as, for example, in The Healing of the Man with Dropsy and of the Woman with the Curved Back. These narratives, of a primarily symbolic nature, belong with the two complementary miracles from John, The Healing of the Paralytic at Bethesda and of the Blind Born. The four also form the group of Sabbath miracles which, as theologians emphasized, roused the anger of the Jews.<sup>34</sup> Regardless whether the selection and grouping of events in Ministry Cycles was based on chronological (i.e., early vs. late) or geographical grounds (Galilee vs. Judea or Jerusalem), the late miracles, performed mainly in Judea and Jerusalem, are those in which Christ openly confronted the Pharisees, proclaimed the divine origin of His powers, and called Himself the Son of God.<sup>35</sup> To this group belong the five miracles on the north spandrels which parallel and complete in meaning the three teaching scenes on the south.

But the scenes in the Ministry Cycle of St. Euthymios are also related in terms of Byzantine ritual, for they roughly follow a sequence of lections read between Easter and Pentecost, except that the lesson for Mid-Pentecost (Wednesday of the fourth week after Easter) is placed at the beginning—out of turn—and the miracle from Luke is interpolated among the lessons from John read on the three middle Sundays.<sup>36</sup> The following chart clarifies these relationships.

<sup>33</sup> Millet, *Recherches*, 62–63.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 65. The same sequence of events as in the five scenes on the north spandrels in St. Euthymios occurs in the north aisle of the Metropolis at Mistra.

<sup>35</sup> Millet, *ibid.*, 62–63, emphasizes the geographical division, whereas Underwood, "Some Problems," 252–54, stresses the chronological difference. Basically, both authors make much the same point about the meaning and intention of the selection.

<sup>36</sup> For the sequence of lections between Easter and Pentecost, see any modern Greek edition of the *Pentekostarion*. See also E. C. Colwell and D. W. Riddle, eds., *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels*, Studies in the Lectionary Text of the Greek New Testament, I (Chicago, 1933), 87f. For The Citation of Christ in the Synagogue as the first lesson of the calendar year, see also Weitzmann, *Illustrations* (*supra*, note 13), 180; for its citation as the lesson for the Mid-Pentecost, see Millet,

Christ Reading in the Synagogue (Galilee, Nazareth)	Luke 4:16–30 (also briefly Matt. 13:53–58, and Mark 6:1–6)	First lesson of the calendar year (September 1) cited by one manual as the lesson for the Mid-Pentecost (Sabbath)
Christ Teaching in the Temple (Judea, Jerusalem)	John 7:14–31	Mid-Pentecost (Wednesday of the fourth week)—Sabbath
The Expulsion of the Merchants (Jerusalem)	John 2:12–22 (also in the Synoptic Gospels)	Friday of the first week
The Wedding at Cana (?) (Galilee)	John 2:1–11	Monday of the second week
The Healing of the Man with Dropsy (on way to Jerusalem)	Luke 14:1–6	_____ (Sabbath Miracle)
The Healing of the Paralytic at Bethesda (Jerusalem)	John 5:1–15	Fourth Sunday (Sabbath Miracle)
The Healing of the Woman with the Curved Back (on way to Jerusalem)	Luke 13:10–17	_____ (Sabbath Miracle)
Christ and the Samaritan Woman (on way to Galilee, in Samaria)	John 4:5–42	Fifth Sunday
The Healing of the Blind Born (Jerusalem)	John 9:1–38	Sixth Sunday (Sabbath Miracle)

Among these scenes the group that stands out as a liturgical unit are the Sundays of the Paralytic, the Samaritan, and the Blind Born. Clearly these three events were arranged in a liturgical sequence, for Christ's encounter with the Samaritan Woman is placed after The Healing of the Paralytic (figs. 21, 16) even though it occurs earlier in the Gospel account.<sup>37</sup> There

*Recherches*, 35; and Dionysios of Fournà, 'Ερμηνεία (*supra*, note 9), 278. For the Wedding at Cana, see also Millet, *Recherches*, 35; and Jerphanion, *Les Eglises rupestres* (*supra*, note 16), Text vol. I, 2, pp. 337–38, Plate vol. II, pl. 77, 3.

<sup>37</sup> The liturgical relation of the three events from John (Paralytic, Samaritan, Blind Born) has been discussed by Underwood, "Some Problems," 258–61; and Millet, *Recherches*, 33–39. In the Kariye Djami, where the three are grouped together, the sequence is that of the Gospel (i.e., Samaritan, Paralytic, Blind Born). At Monreale the Paralytic and Blind Born are together in the upper zone of the west wall of the southern transept and the Samaritan follows in the second register of the east end of the south wall; see W. Krönig, *Il Duomo di Monreale e l'architettura normanna in Sicilia* (Palermo, 1965), pls. 37, 46; and Kitzynger, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 5), pl. XIII. In the Gospel Book Ivron 5, only these three events are illustrated between the fourth and tenth chapters of John's Gospel: Samaritan (fol. 371), Paralytic (fol. 377), Blind Born (fol. 405); cf. Xyngopoulos, 'Ιστορημένα Εὐαγγέλια, 47–49. Millet, *Recherches*, 8–9, cites this manuscript as one in which the illustrations are chosen because of their liturgical symbolism. Here also, however, the sequence is chronological in accordance with Gospel narrative. The three miracles are illustrated in a liturgical sequence in Byzantine lectionaries, as, for example, in the marginal illuminations of a twelfth-century Constantinopolitan lectionary in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M 692), correlated with the text of the lessons from John, between fols. 22<sup>v</sup> and 38<sup>r</sup>. Not only are the four Sundays illustrated, but the scene of Christ Reading in the Temple (Mid-Pentecost) is inserted between the Fourth and Fifth Sundays. The sequence of the scenes in this manuscript is as follows: The Healing of the Paralytic at Bethesda (Fourth Sunday), fol. 22<sup>v</sup>,

is, however, a second important reason for grouping together these three miracles from John: their association with the Sacrament of Baptism, which goes back to the earliest years of Christianity.<sup>38</sup> That this meaning was clearly understood by the persons responsible for the arrangement of the cycle in St. Euthymios is evident in the representation of the cruciform well in the scene of the Samaritan Woman (fig. 21), which is an exact replica of the font in a scene of baptism (fig. 27) from the life of St. Euthymios in the north aisle of the parekklesion.

The sacramental emphasis in the Ministry Cycle in St. Euthymios and its stress on illumination of the human being through baptism and on the healing of the whole of man's body on the Sabbath is consonant with contemporary religious thought, especially with that of Theoleptos of Philadelphia and Athanasios I. Both men placed great emphasis on baptism, and on the urgent need for the faithful to participate in the life of the Church through the sacraments. Athanasios went so far as to urge the emperor to force the people to go to church by imperial decree. Both Theoleptos and Athanasios were distressed at the laxity of Christians, who did not go to church, did not partake of the Body and Blood of Christ, and many of whose children died without baptism.<sup>39</sup>

However, the thought of Theoleptos provides an even more direct and striking parallel to the content and organization of the Ministry Cycle in St. Euthymios, for he wrote a homily on each of the three Sundays between Easter and Pentecost (of the Paralytic, the Samaritan, and the Blind Born). These homilies have been grouped together in a liturgical sequence in the Codex Ottobonianus (gr. 405) in the Vatican, a manuscript compiled during the fourteenth century, probably during the lifetime of Theoleptos.<sup>40</sup> It is clear that Theoleptos intended the three homilies to be

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near the text of John 5:5-6; Christ Teaching in the Temple (Mid-Pentecost), fol. 25<sup>v</sup>, near John 7:14; Christ and the Samaritan Woman (Fifth Sunday), fol. 29<sup>v</sup>, near John 4:5; The Healing of the Blind Born (Sixth Sunday), fol. 38<sup>r</sup>, near John 9:1. I am engaged in a study of the very important marginal illuminations of this manuscript, which have not as yet been thoroughly examined. For the most complete recent discussion, see G. Vikan, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1973), 134-35.

<sup>38</sup> See Underwood, "Some Problems," 258-61, for the history of the baptismal association of these scenes and further bibliography. The Paralytic and the Samaritan were included in the third-century Christian baptistery at Dura Europos (cf. Kraeling, *op. cit.* [*supra*, note 27], 177-203), and according to some scholars all three miracles were included in the late fourth-century decoration of the octagonal dome of S. Giovanni in Fonte at Naples; see J.-L. Maier, *Le Baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques. Etude historique et iconographique* (Fribourg, 1964), 57. On the intentional parallelism between events in the life of Christ and certain sacramental, liturgical feasts in the fourth Gospel, see O. Cullmann, *Urchristentum und Gottesdienst* (Zurich-Stuttgart, 1962); and Underwood, "Some Problems," 260.

<sup>39</sup> Salaville, *op. cit.* (*supra*, note 11), 121-22, 124; and V. Laurent, *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. I, Les Actes des Patriarches*, fasc. IV, *Les Regestes de 1208 à 1309* (Paris, 1971), 460-61, 517-18.

<sup>40</sup> The Codex Ottobonianus, gr. 405, in the Vatican contains the best collection of the writings of Theoleptos of Philadelphia. It is unfortunate that this important collection remains as yet unpublished. The homilies on the three Sundays after Easter are at the end of the manuscript (the Paralytic: fols. 174<sup>v</sup>-183<sup>r</sup>; the Samaritan: fols. 183<sup>r</sup>-188<sup>v</sup>; the Blind Born: fols. 188<sup>r</sup>-193<sup>v</sup>). It appears that the copyist was a woman (Irene Choumnos?) and that the manuscript was compiled during Theoleptos' lifetime. See S. Salaville, "Un directeur spirituel à Byzance au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Theolepte de Philadelphie," *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck*, II (Gembloux, 1951), 877-87.

arranged in a liturgical sequence, for after each title he cited the Sunday on which it was to be read. The sequence of the three homilies concludes with one devoted to the Pentecost, an arrangement that corresponds with the relationship of the three events in the Ministry Cycle in St. Euthymios to the Pentecost, placed on the same level, in the soffit of the triumphal arch (fig. 4).<sup>41</sup> Of the twenty-four homilies in the Codex Ottobonianus only five others are based on events from the life of Christ. One of these, among the longest homilies in the codex, deals with the "Symbolism of the Miracle of the Healing of the Woman with the Curved Back," the only event represented over the curve of an arch in St. Euthymios (fig. 16).<sup>42</sup> These rather striking parallels may be no more than expressions of the overriding theological concerns of the age. However, as I have pointed out elsewhere, the channels through which Theoleptos could have influenced the decoration of this prestigious chapel were many.<sup>43</sup>

The Ministry Cycle in St. Euthymios is impressive, both because of its conciseness and unity and because of its theological cohesion and complexity. The importance of contemporary religious thought is clearly evident in the sacramental, baptismal, and eucharistic emphasis, and is in agreement with the emphasis placed on sacramental realism by Theoleptos and Athanasios, who, as Meyendorff has shown, in their religious and monastic ideals emerge as the leaders of the Hesychast movement of *ca.* 1300.<sup>44</sup> Theoleptos not only stressed participation in the Church through baptism and the Eucharist, but also drew an analogy between the religious profession and baptism; a similar parallel was drawn by Athanasios in one of his letters. According to both men, the religious profession reinforced through a life of voluntary penitence the union with Christ contracted by the sacrament.<sup>45</sup>

Seen in this light, the life of St. Euthymios in the parekklesion becomes doubly meaningful, for it not only illustrates this "union with Christ" but also provides a parallel to the Ministry of Christ. As Christ healed, purified, enlightened, and baptized, so did St. Euthymios. And even though the textual accounts of the Saint's life are largely devoted to his monastic life, his search for *hesychia* (spiritual rest and silence), his founding of lavrae, and his teaching, the frescoes emphasize the worldly and sacramental aspects of his life as presbyter, healer, and converter.<sup>46</sup> It is no accident, I believe, that the major

<sup>41</sup> Codex Ottobonianus, fols. 194r-196v. This is the last homily in the collection and is unfinished.

<sup>42</sup> The homily on the miracle of "The Healing of the Woman with the Curved Back" runs from fols. 67v to 79r. The other christological homilies in this collection are: "On the Feast of the Transfiguration" (fols. 80r-83r), "On the Nativity of Christ and Religious Life" (fols. 137r-141r), "Easter Sunday and the Death of Brother Leo" (fols. 168r-170r), and "Sunday of the Myrophores: on Joseph of Arimathea" (fols. 170r-174r).

<sup>43</sup> See Gouma-Peterson, "The *Parecclesion*," 181-82.

<sup>44</sup> J. Meyendorff, "Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," in *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), 62; repr. in *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 95-106.

<sup>45</sup> S. Salaville, "Formes ou méthodes de prière d'après un byzantin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, Théolèpte de Philadelphie," *EO*, 39 (1940), 1-25; Laurent, *op. cit.*, 454, 515, 518-19.

<sup>46</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the Life of St. Euthymios and its textual sources, see Gouma-Peterson, "The *Parecclesion*," 173-78.

acts performed by St. Euthymios in the seven scenes on the north wall parallel acts performed by Christ in the miracles on the north spandrels: The Healing of Terevon (fig. 27), the paralytic child of Aspebetos, the Greek leader of the Saracens in the desert area of Koutila in Palestine, with The Healing of the Paralytic at Bethesda (fig. 16); The Baptism of Aspebetos and The Conversion of the Saracens (fig. 27) with Christ's Meeting with the Samaritan Woman (the baptismal font of the former scene and the well of the latter are identical) and the conversion of the inhabitants of Sychar (fig. 21); The Healing of the Demoniac (fig. 28) with Christ's Healing of the Blind Born (fig. 24). Though the latter two scenes are not of the same subject, they both show acts of purification and deliverance from darkness. This parallelism was stressed by the sequential and spatial correspondence of the scenes (fig. 6). Clearly the life of St. Euthymios, and through it the vocation of the priest, was shown as an extension of the Ministry of Christ, and became a pictorial illustration of the words of Theoleptos: "it was Christ the first teacher who sent the human apostle; the grace of his pastoral mission he [the human apostle] received it from Christ who told His disciples: 'Go and teach all the nations'" (Matt. 28:19). Further on in this passage Theoleptos urged the faithful to unite themselves with God through His intermediary, the priest.<sup>47</sup>

Meyendorff has observed that Theoleptos in many ways "appears as the precursor of the sacramental realism and mysticism of Palamas and Nicholas Cabasilas, which are based upon the belief that God is present in the church neither symbolically nor subjectively, but in all reality, and that Christian spirituality, like every other Christian religious act, must reflect this objective Presence."<sup>48</sup> Palamas himself informs us that the Hesychast tradition was transmitted to him personally by Theoleptos and Athanasios.<sup>49</sup> Central to the stand taken by Palamas against the Calabrian monk Barlaam is the belief that man is one living and indivisible unity, that supernatural grace was "granted to the whole man and not to the mind only," and that the senses, "transformed by grace, also participate in the supreme drama for which man was created, that is union with God."<sup>50</sup> This is one of the central themes in the Ministry Cycle of St. Euthymios, and is raised in the second scene in the words spoken by Christ in the Temple (John 7:21-24): "...why are you indignant with me for giving health on the Sabbath to the whole of man's body?" It is also the central theme of the four Homilies of the Codex Ottobonianus, in which Theoleptos repeatedly stresses the unity of soul and body and the release and illumination of the whole human being, senses and intellect (διάνοια), body and soul, through Christ, the source of Divine Light.<sup>51</sup>

In these Homilies Theoleptos continuously anticipates the views of Gregory Palamas. It is clear that he, as Palamas, regarded man "as one living and

<sup>47</sup> Salaville, "Deux documents" (*supra*, note 11), 125.

<sup>48</sup> Meyendorff, "Spiritual Trends," 59.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>50</sup> Meyendorff, *Palamas* (*supra*, note 11), 171.

<sup>51</sup> I wish to thank Professor James Helm of Oberlin College for his help with the textual analysis of Theoleptos' Homilies in the Codex Ottobonianus.

indivisible unity." He constantly emphasizes the cause and effect relationship in the way sinfulness and grace affect the body and the soul. In his Homily on the Woman with the Curved Back (fols. 67<sup>v</sup>–79<sup>r</sup>) he observes that the soul of the woman was bent toward the pleasures of the flesh and as a result the body, contrary to its upright shape, bent toward the earth. Her body suffered the same as her soul so that, from the apparent infirmity of the body, the soul might perceive the true nature of its illness. In healing the woman Christ was unconcerned about the criticism of the Pharisees, for he was looking toward the true Sabbath. He came to release the human being from the double bond of the senses and the intellect (διάνοια). He made salvation possible through a sacrifice of praise; in other words, through the sacrifice of the pleasures of the flesh and through the continuous prayer of the mind. Theoleptos clearly is referring to the "monological prayer" or prayer of the mind (νοερά προσευχή) so important to fourteenth-century Hesychasts.<sup>52</sup> He stresses that fulfillment of the Divine wishes is achieved through the constant presence of Divine hymns in one's mouth and through the completion of the prayer of the mind. In the Homily on the Blind Born (fols. 188<sup>r</sup>–193<sup>v</sup>) he observes that Christ healed the eyes of the blind man as He opens the eyes of one's soul to the knowledge of His remarkable power. The renewal of sight to the eyes of the body also became the renewal of the eyes of the soul. The blind man, because of his physical blindness, could not see the physical light and, because of the disability of his soul, was ignorant of the Divine Light. He parallels the physical sun with the sun of righteousness, and the Son of God who opened the eyes of man's body and gave light to the eyes of his soul. He considered man worthy of knowing the divinity of Him who healed him. Palamas carried these beliefs one step further. In his view the intelligence and senses transformed by Grace participate in the union with God.<sup>53</sup>

This state of total illumination and union with God is illustrated in one of the most significant and unusual scenes in the life of St. Euthymios; the Saint is shown miraculously Enveloped by a Heavenly Fire (fig. 26) while reading the prayer which was recited at the beginning of the Great Entrance in a low voice by the priest during the hymn of the Cherubicon. The scene shows that St. Euthymios, while performing the monological prayer, has reached the level of *hesychia* which allows him direct communion with God. As a result of this communion, he is being transformed by the power of the spirit and as a whole man shares in the divine light.<sup>54</sup> His state of being is the ultimate fulfillment of Christ's intention in the events of the Ministry Cycle. It is also a perfect pictorial illustration of the views of Theoleptos and Athanasios I on the role of the priest as an extension of Christ, and on the parallel between the religious profession and baptism. Finally, the scene illustrates the concept of deification formulated by Palamas thirty years later

<sup>52</sup> Meyendorff, "Spiritual Trends," 57; Gouma-Peterson, "The *Parecclesion*," 181.

<sup>53</sup> Meyendorff, *Palamas*, 175, and 176–84 for a further discussion of Palamas' views on the relation of Christ and deified humanity.

<sup>54</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the meaning of this scene in relation to Theoleptos' definition of prayer, see Gouma-Peterson, "The *Parecclesion*," 180–81.

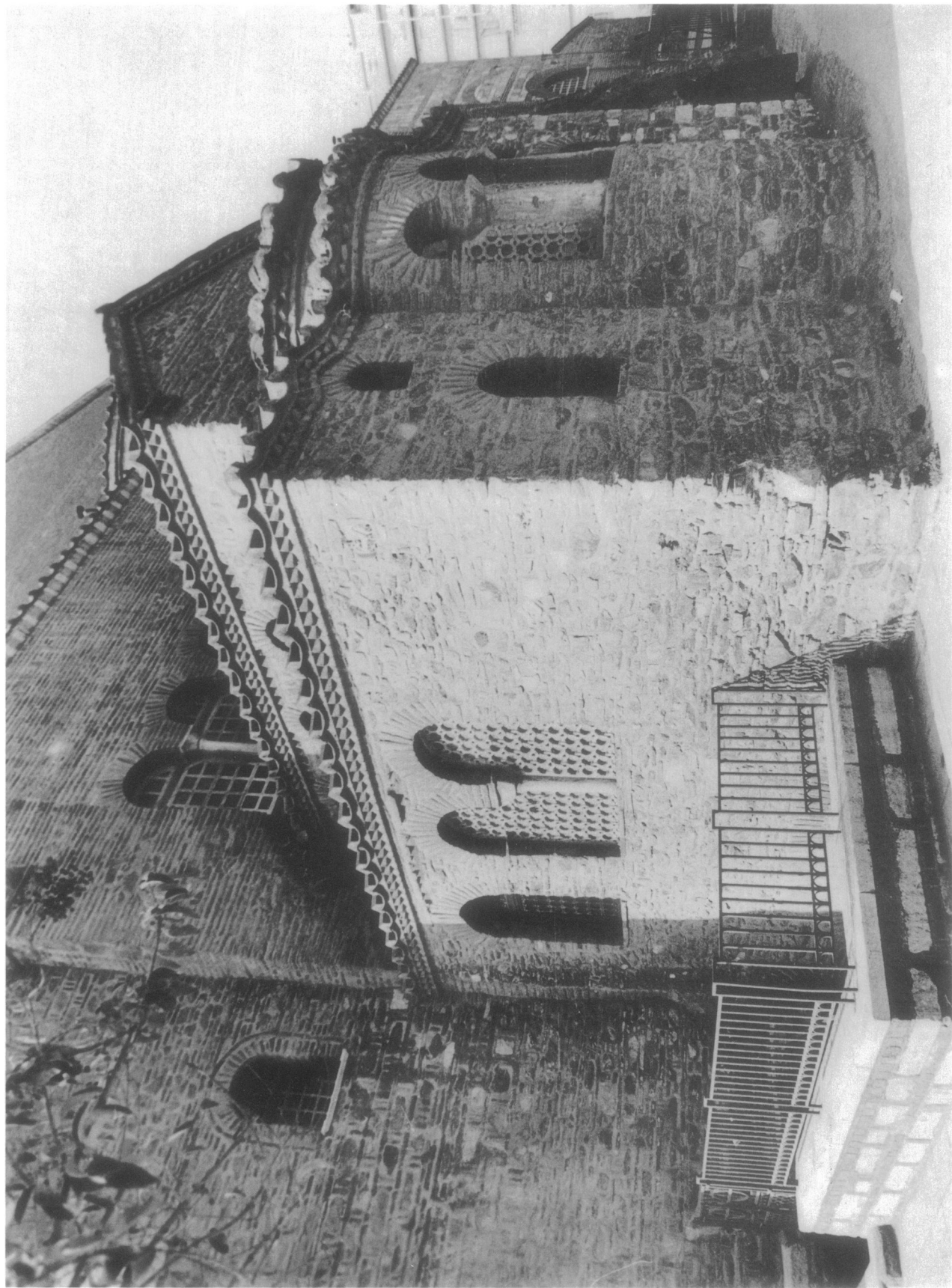
and provides the perfect rebuttal to the views of Barlaam.<sup>55</sup> This correspondence between the cycles in the parekklesion and contemporary and subsequent Hesychast thought clearly indicates a product of the same milieu, dominated by the late thirteenth-century monastic revival which was seen by many as the most hopeful sign for the survival of the Empire.<sup>56</sup>

In conclusion, the carefully thought out Ministry Cycle in the parekklesion, its close correlation with the life of St. Euthymios, the parallel of Christ and the presbyter Euthymios as ministrants, and the emphasis in both cycles on the sacramental reality of the Church express the beliefs of the most influential prelates of the first two decades of the reign of Andronikos II. This suggests that they, or their representative, played an active role in formulating the concise and subtle iconographic program of this chapel. St. Euthymios is, I believe, only one instance of the widespread influence of clerics, in the role of theological advisers, on the formulation of the varied and complex programs of Palaeologan monumental painting.

<sup>55</sup> Meyendorff, *Palamas*, 169.

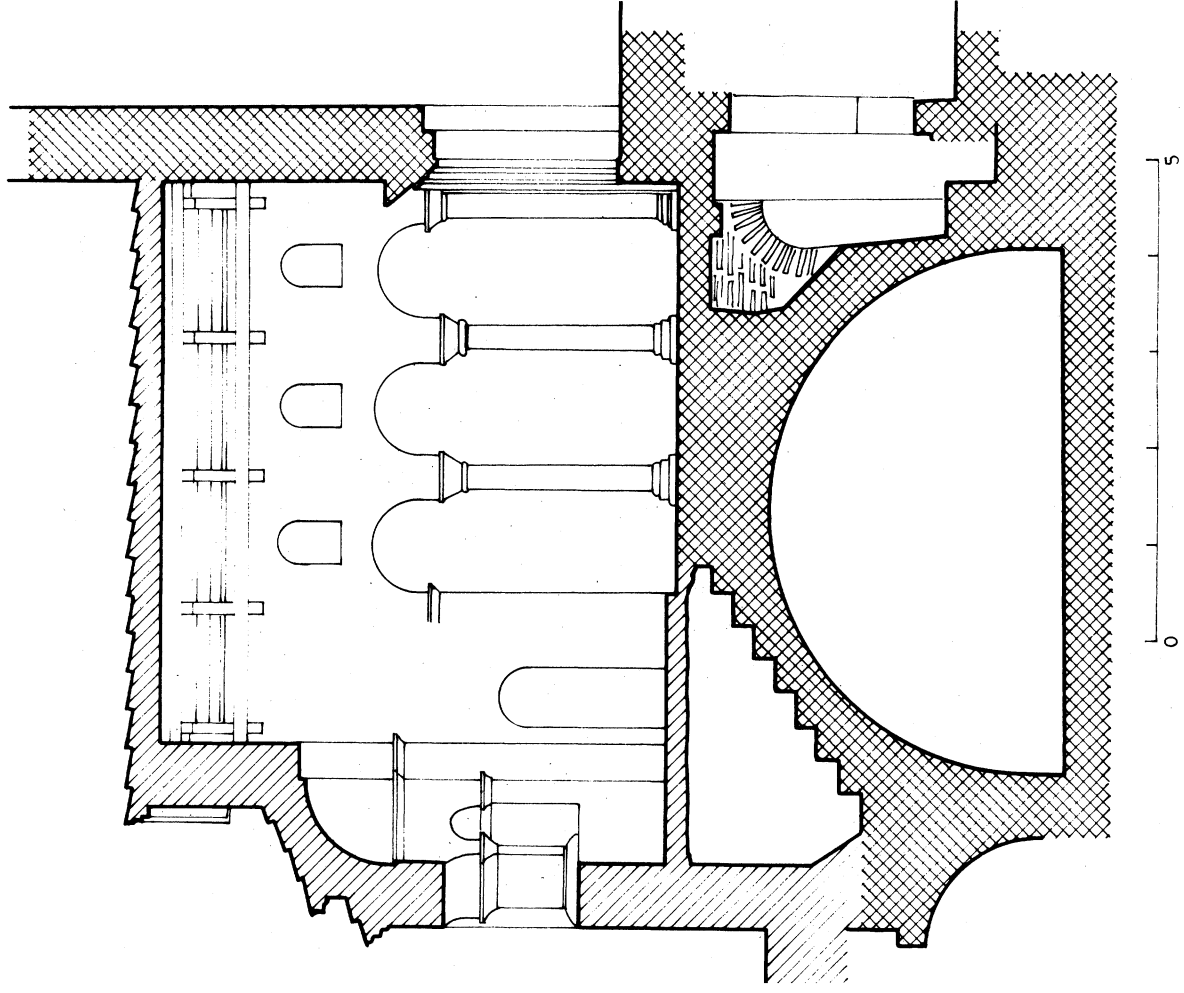
<sup>56</sup> *Idem*, "Spiritual Trends," 56; and *idem*, "Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century. Religious Problems," *XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines, Rapports*, I (Bucharest, 1971), 51-56. See also A. E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282-1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 32-39. For the relationship of Michael Glavas and his wife Maria with this monastic milieu, see Gouma-Peterson, "The *Parecclesion*," 182 and notes 75-76.



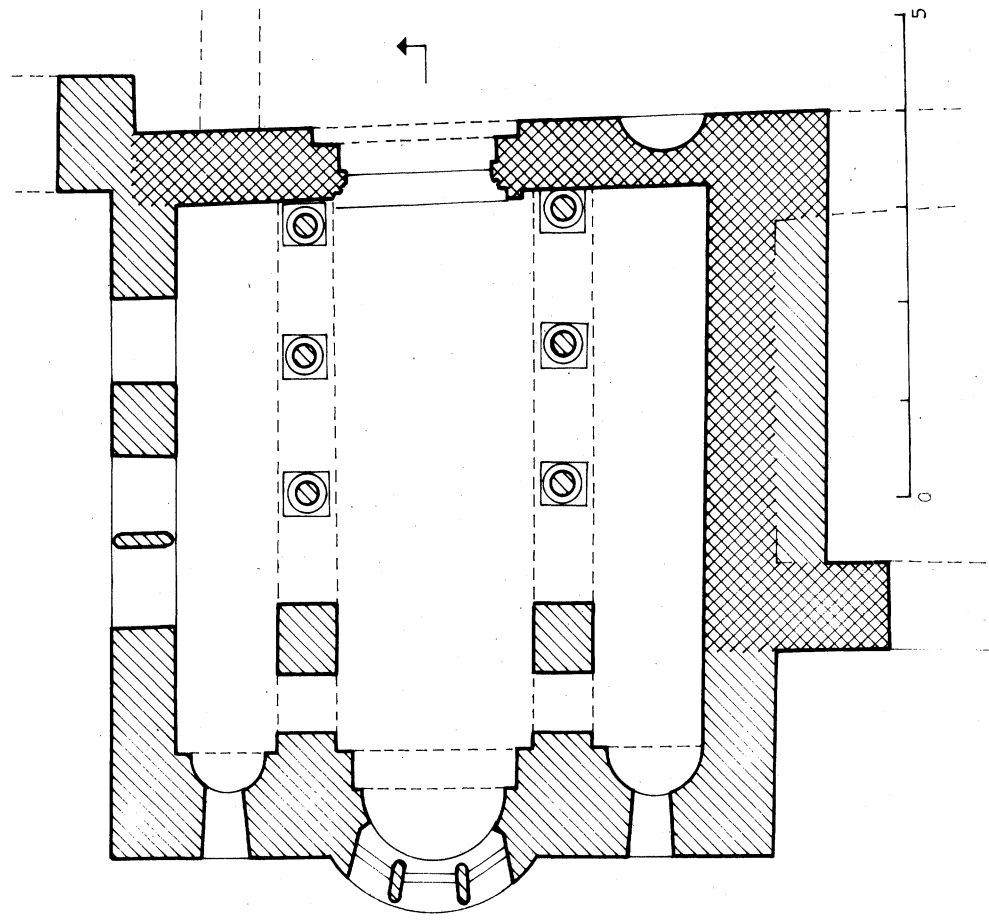


1. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios, View from Southeast



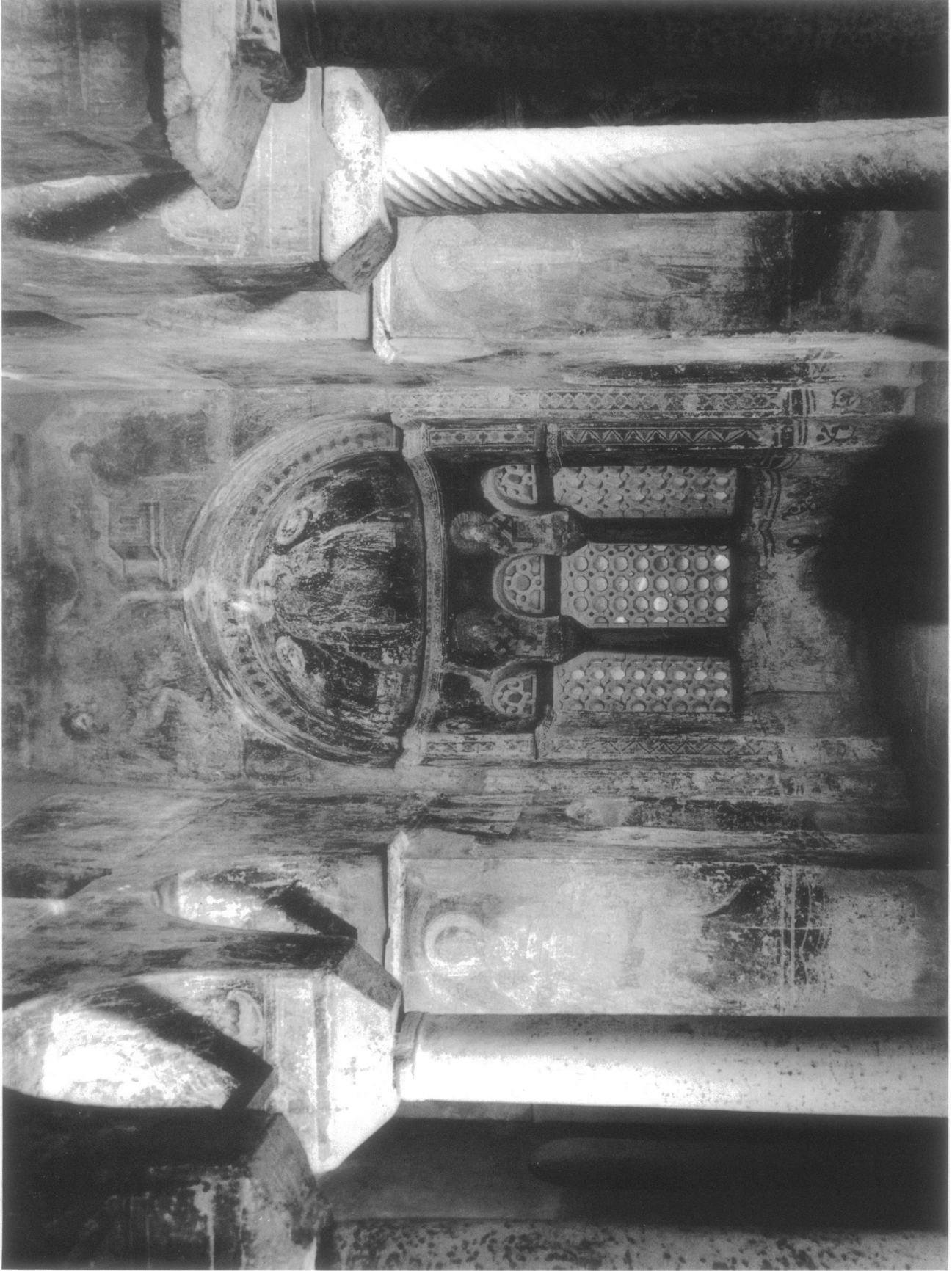


3. Section



2. Plan

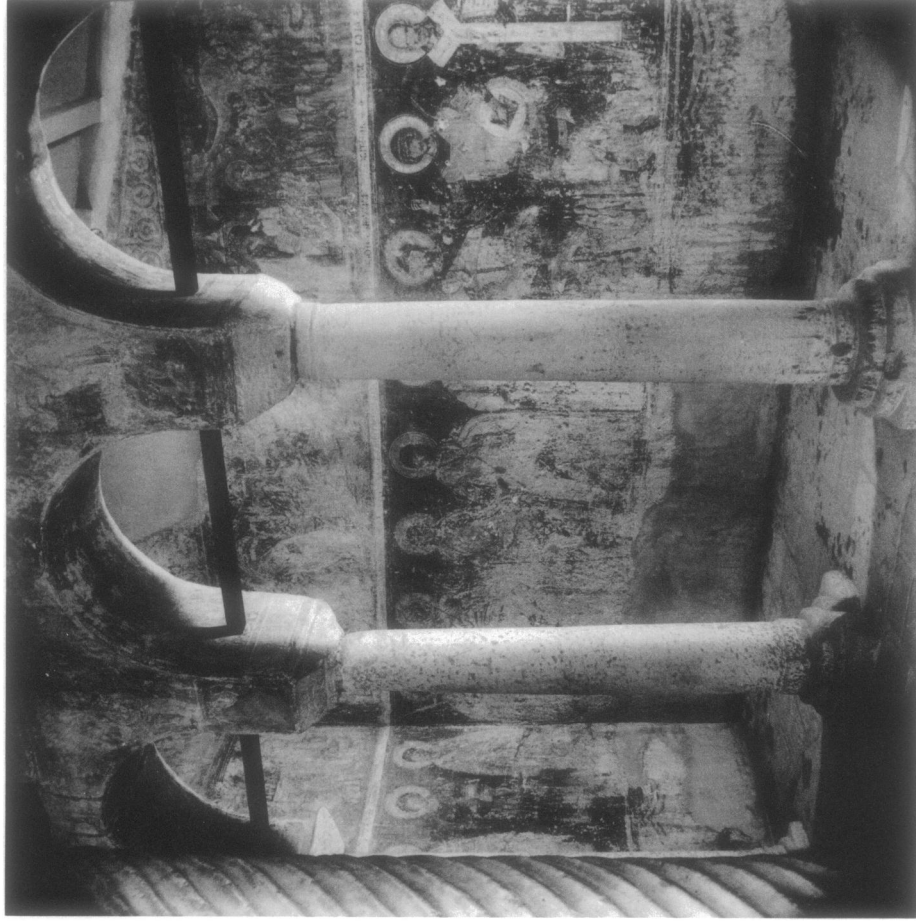
Thessalonica, St. Euthymios



4. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios, Nave



5. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. The Communion of the Wine and Christ Reading in the Synagogue



6. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios, North Aisle

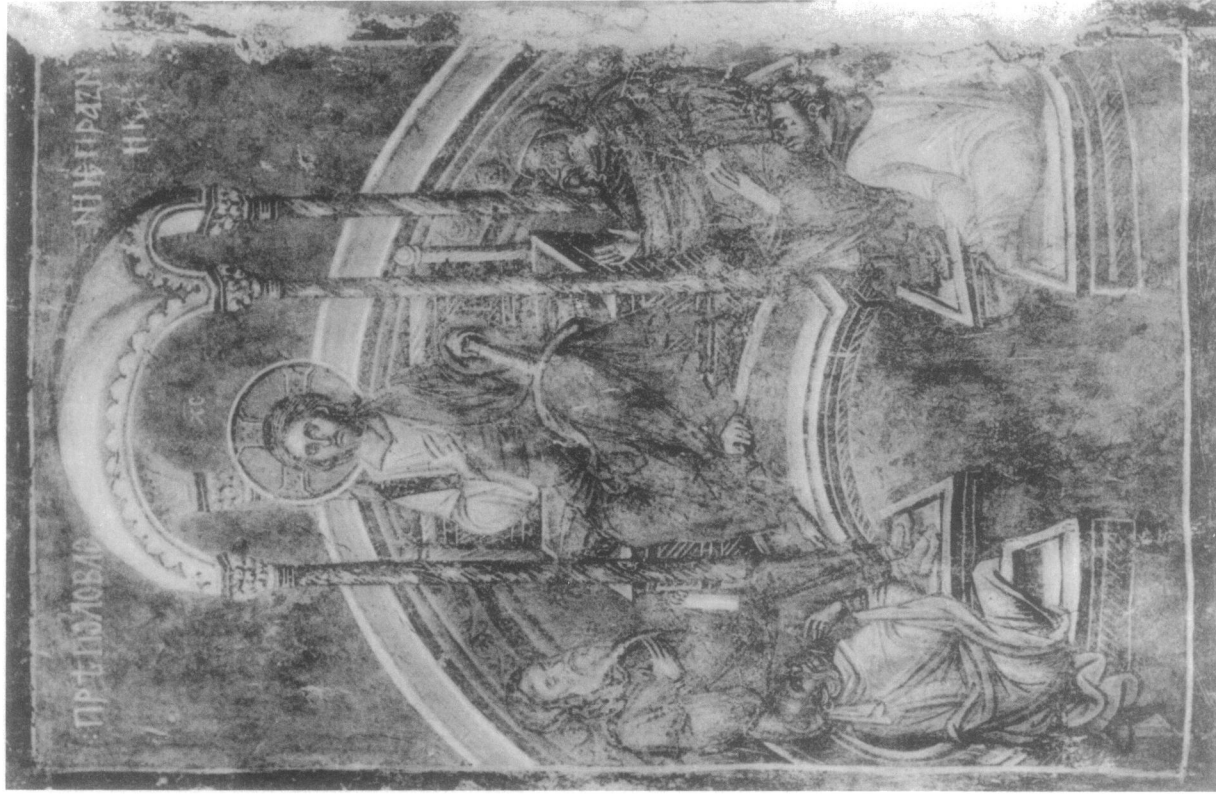


7. Ohrid, St. Clement. Christ Reading in the Synagogue





8. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. Christ Teaching in the Temple



9. Near Čučer, St. Nikita

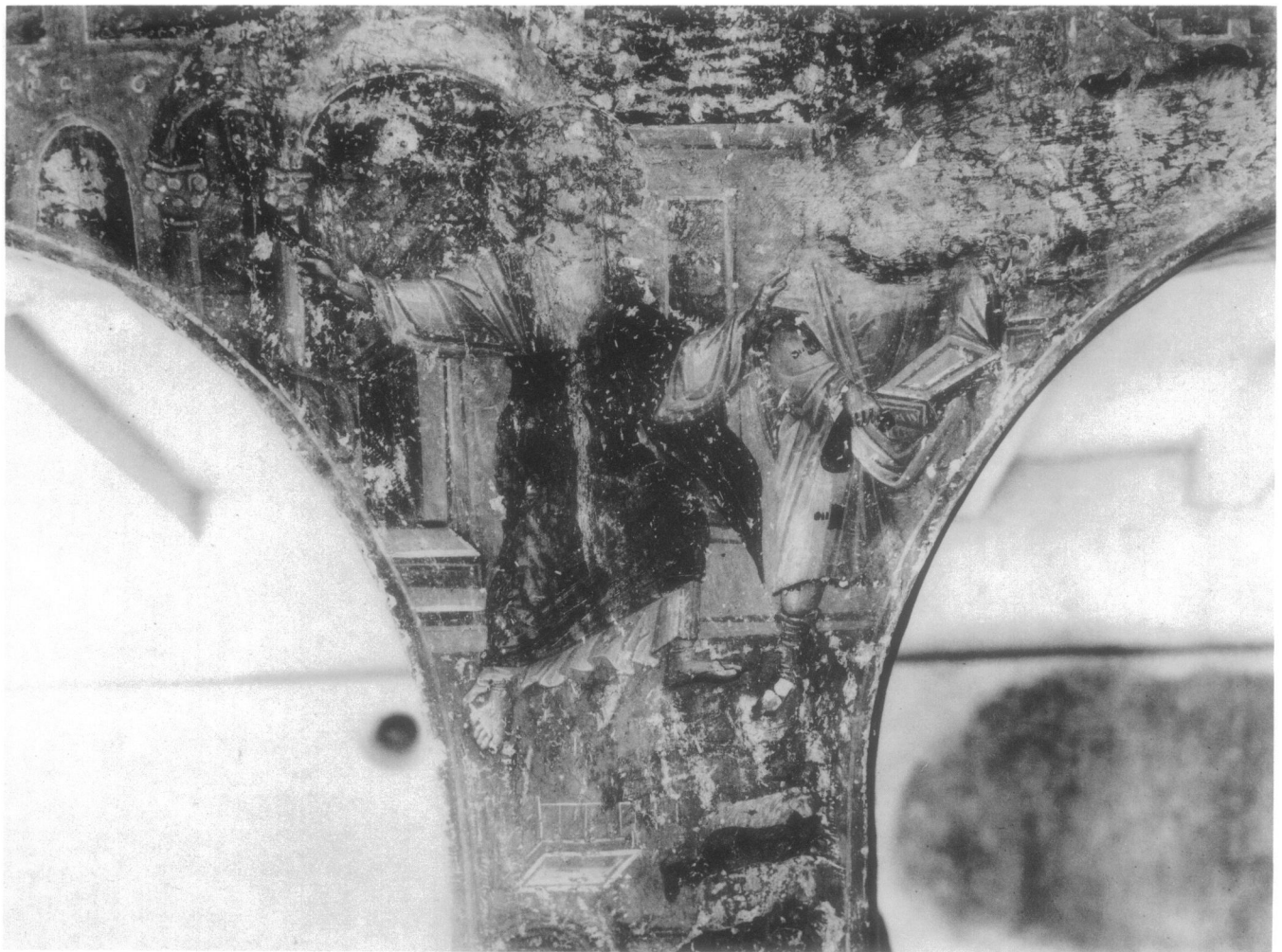


10. Ohrid, St. Clement

Christ Teaching in the Temple



11. Mount Athos, Protaton. The Ministry of Christ



12. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. The Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple



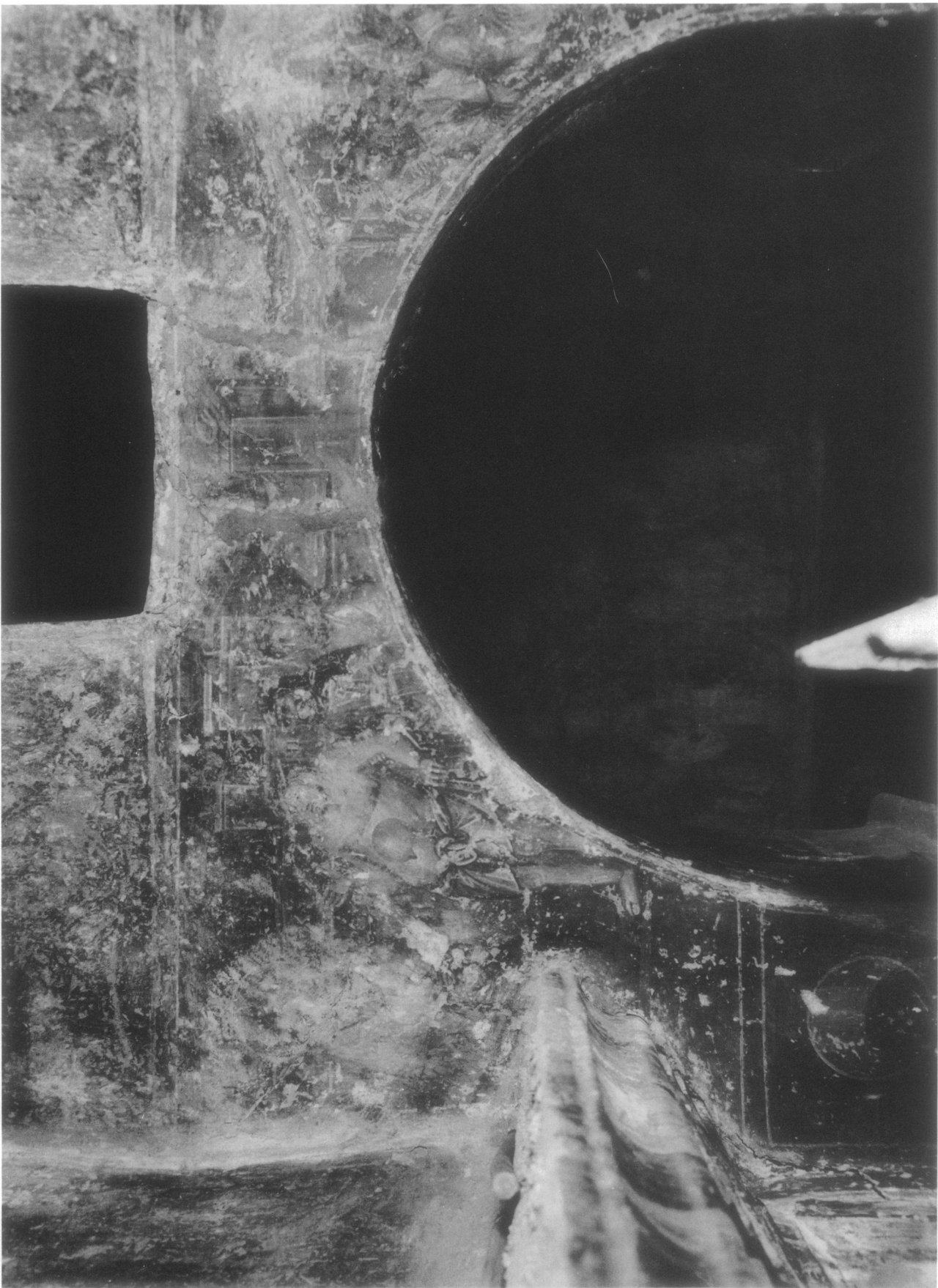


13. Near Čučer, St. Nikita. The Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple and The Healing of the Man with Dropsy

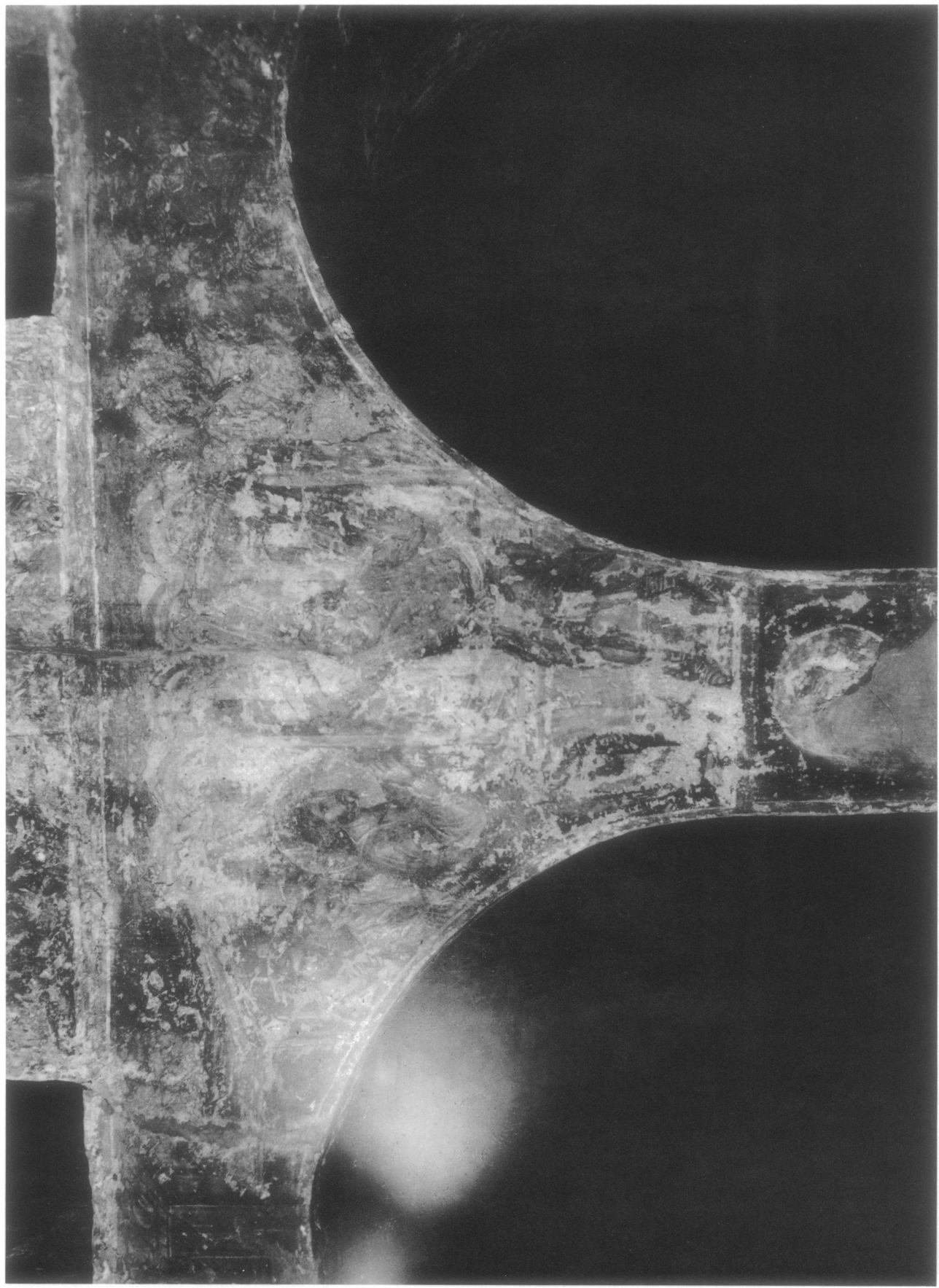


14. Ohrid, St. Clement. The Expulsion of the Merchants from the Temple

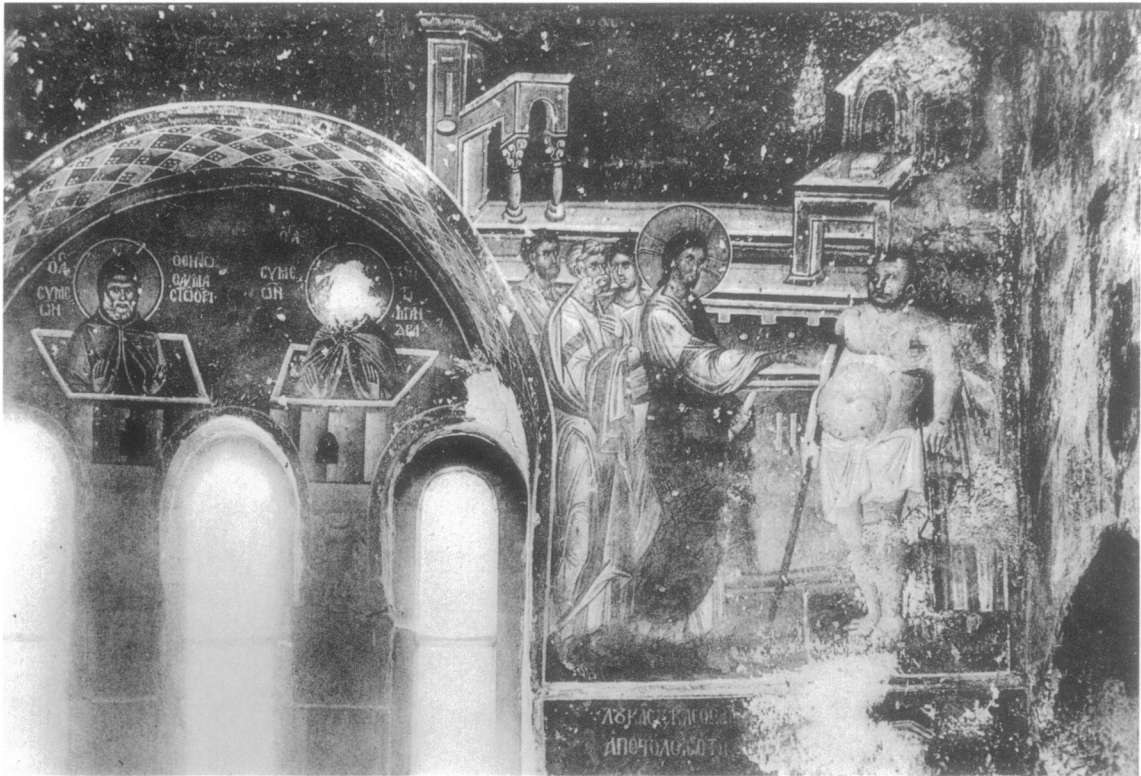




15. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. The Healing of the Man with Dropsy



16. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. The Healing of the Paralytic and The Healing of the Woman with the Curved Back



17. Staro Nagoričino, St. George. The Healing of the Man with Dropsy



18. Thessalonica, St. Catherine. The Healing of the Paralytic





19. The Healing of the Paralytic



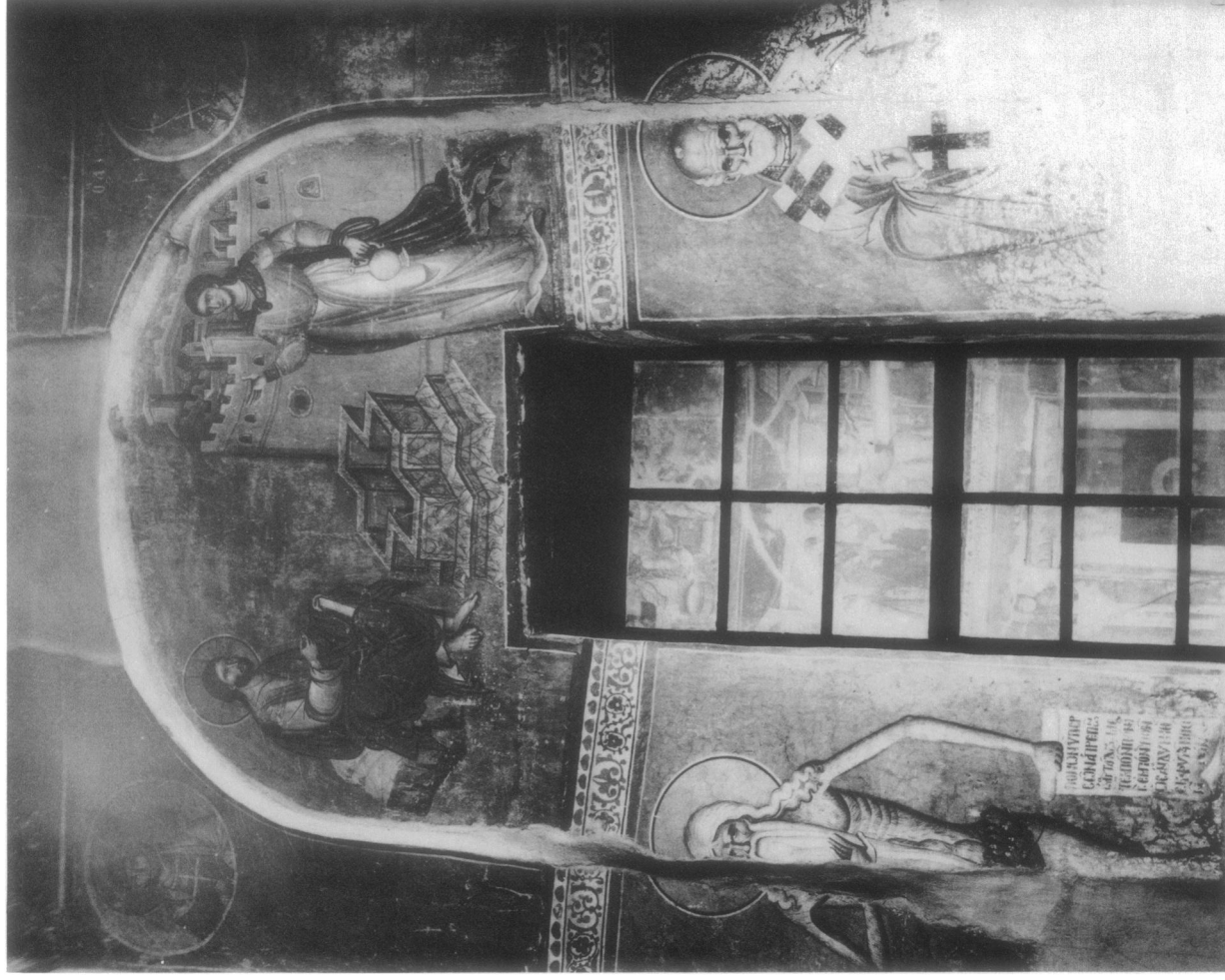
20. The Healing of the Woman with the Curved Back  
Near Čučer, St. Nikita



21. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. Christ and the Samaritan Woman



22. Ohrid, St. Clement



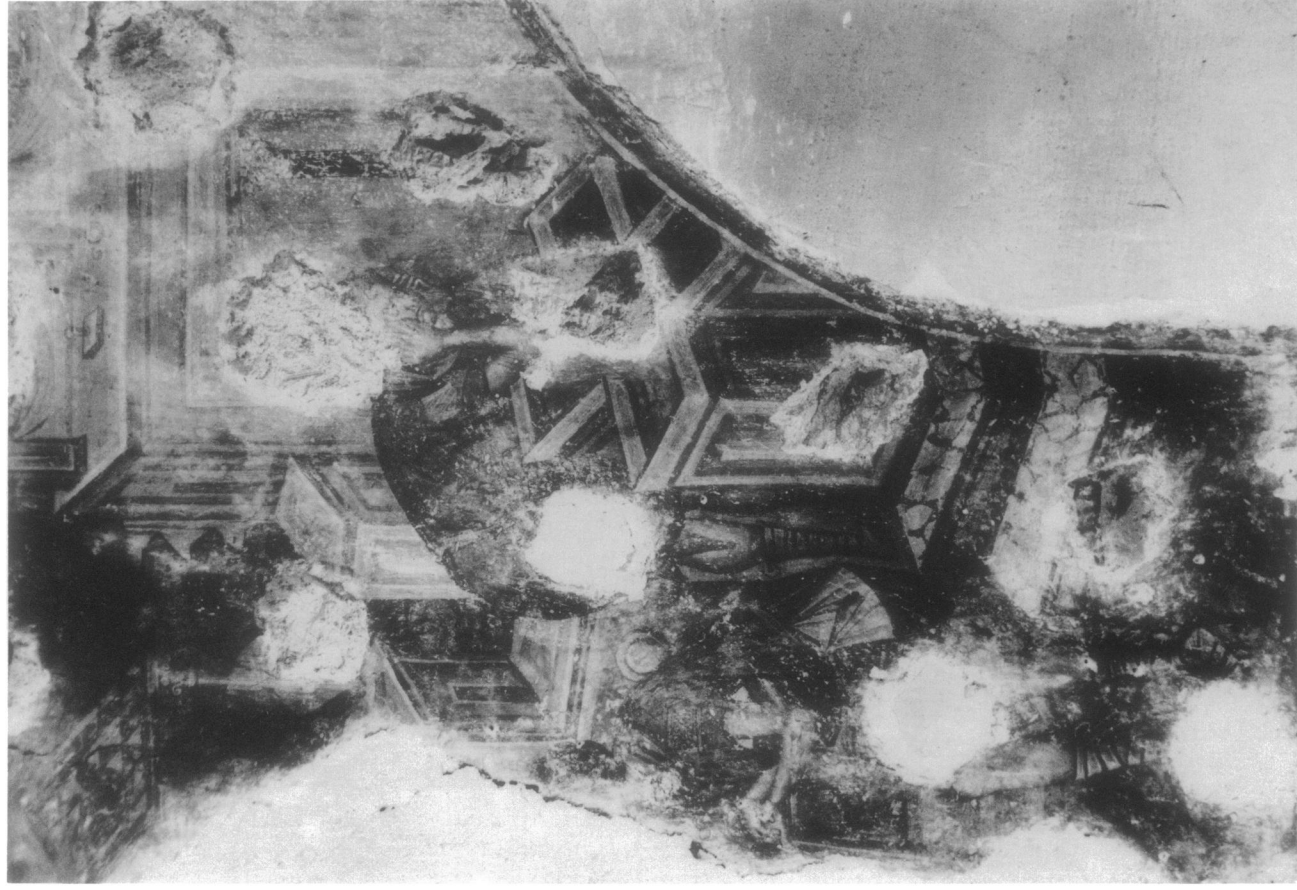
23. Mount Athos, Protaton

Christ and the Samaritan Woman





24. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. The Healing of the Blind Born and The Communion of the Bread



25. Thessalonica, St. Catherine. The Healing of the Blind Man



26. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. The Descent of the Heavenly Fire





27. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. The Healing of Tereon and The Baptism of Aspebetos



28. Thessalonica, St. Euthymios. The Healing of the Demoniac and The Dormition of St. Euthymios